

The Committee of Forty-Eight

**For a Conference of Americans
who are equally opposed to
Reaction and Violent
Revolution**

**Its Purposes—
and the reasons for it**

ISSUED BY

**The Committee of Forty-Eight
15 East 40th Street, New York City**

Telephone Vanderbilt 4186

Will You Join Us Now?

NAME

ADDRESS

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

Sign yourself, secure other signatures and
return immediately to

COMMITTEE OF FORTY-EIGHT
15 EAST 40th STREET,
NEW YORK



The Aims of the Committee

The Committee of Forty-Eight has been formed for the purpose of

1st—Organizing a conference of Americans interested in a thoroughgoing program of fundamental reconstruction.

2nd—Presenting to such a conference a tentative platform dealing with political, social, industrial and international reconstruction.

3rd—Discussing at the Conference the possibility of

a—Forming a political party.

b—Forming a coalition with other political parties.

c—Creating an organization to translate liberal conviction into political action.

d—Accepting such other analogous suggestions as are presented by delegates to the conference.

The Reasons for the Committee

The Committee of Forty-Eight has issued the following call:

Revolution or Reconstruction?

A Call to Americans

America has reached a turning point in her history. The time has come for all free minds to meet in concerted effort to face and shape the crisis.

Despite America's splendid success in a war waged against foreign autocracy, our country is menaced by the growing power of an autocratic and reactionary minority at home. We stand in danger of losing many of the liberties and advances won in the course of our national development. There is grave likelihood of our being left stagnant and backward in a world that for the most part is vigorously reorganizing its economic and political life.

Centralization and autocracy are increasing rapidly in the organization of government, in the control of credit, and in the determination of public opinion. The very classes whose labors in factory and field are the basis and substance of our economic power, find no effective political medium through which to express their economic demand, but by deceptive diversions of our party-system are denied their proper representation in the law-making bodies of the nation.

Criticism, competent or not, is discouraged; periodicals are suppressed with hardly a pretense of adequate hearing; public assemblies meeting under constitutional guarantees are dispersed by official force or by mob violence bred of official intolerance; our women are subjected to unwarranted delays in their campaign for the fulfilment of democracy; agricultural and labor organizers and political heretics are not only suppressed but are in many cases sent to penitentiaries for terms whose unprecedented severity would surprise even the fallen despots of Europe.

Meanwhile the cost of armaments, the orgies of profiteering, the extravagances of administration, the expense of innumerable agencies of suppression combined with lack of any intelligent and far-sighted budget system, swell the public debt, devouring loans and revenues before they can be collected, and sending prices always beyond the reach of fifteen million families whose physical and intellectual well being are the final test of our collective development and survival.

It is the privilege of America, protected by its vestige of geographical seclusion, to profit by the experiences of Europe. Europe too has had its reactionary ruling minorities, its industrial autocrats, its financial oligarchies, its massive armaments, its hated conscription, its corrupt and futile politics, its suppression of dissent, its judicial frightfulness, its bursting budgets, its toilers broken of body and bitter of soul. And Europe has revolution.

Is this what Americans want? We do not think so.

We believe that there is intelligence enough in this country, if it will but come together, to catch control of the current of things and co-operate directly with the inevitable forces of human growth. To Reaction and Revolution we oppose Reconstruction; not as a catchword and pretense, but as an organized effort to find some new adjustment of the changing powers that constitute society.

Many of us believe that these readjustments demand a new political alignment, that the old parties are determined to withhold that which the American people are determined to have. Day by day men come to see more clearly that these organizations have lost that spirit to serve the people which was embodied once in Jefferson and another time in Lincoln; that the shell has hardened and stifled the growth within. With exceptions lost among the instances, the politicians whom we have elected have misrepresented our desires and laughed at our hopes; they have opposed with a cynical accord all that we have set our hearts on as vital to the renovation of American life. There are times when by the vigor of a personality, the old mechanisms are driven to some efficacy and result; but the mechanism soon overcomes the man, pushes him aside, and undoes his little work. America cannot grow much more in these old skins.

Rather must reconstruction derive its impetus and direction from the political organization of the manual and mental workers of the country. The future belongs not to the inheritors and manipulators of great wealth but to the men and women who live by their work of hand or brain and know by hard experience the needs and aspirations of the common life.

It is the purpose of the Committee of Forty-Eight to summon from all parts of the country the leaders of its liberal thought and of its forward-looking citizens to meet in conference. We hope that out of this assemblage of the hitherto scattered forces of Americanism will come a flexible statement of principles and methods that will permit effective co-operation with organized Labor and Agricultural workers in the tasks of social reconstruction.

So we send out this call. It is not such an opportunity as comes with every day. The world is fluent now, and responds readily to every moulding force; but let it find a form and it will congeal again into resistance and immobility. All minds are awake today as seldom before, all hearts are astir with hopes and open to large purposes; but these minds will shrivel once more into their grooves, these hopes will lose their glow, if we miss this chance to organize the liberal intelligence of America into coherent voice and form. It may be the final opportunity of our generation.

**We need your Time, Enthusiasm, Advice
and Money.**

Among the Signers of this Call are

WEST

THOMAS ADDIS	California
MELINDA ALEXANDER	Montana
GEORGE BOKE	California
MARIE C. BREHM	California
PROF. G. G. BENJAMIN	Iowa
USHER L. BURDICK	North Dakota
JOHN J. CARNEY	Oklahoma
DORR H. CARROLL	North Dakota
A. M. CHAPIN	California
ODIN G. CLAY	Montana
DAVID C. COATES	Washington
ALBERT CROISSANT	California
PROF. CLARENCE M. CASE	Iowa
THOMAS D. ELIOT	Washington
EDGAR R. FISHER	California
C. J. FRANCE	Washington
H. E. FRASER	Washington
REV. R. A. FRIEDRICH	Nebraska
JOHN H. GABRIEL	Colorado
G. H. GREENWOOD	Washington
H. H. GRIFFITHS	Iowa
CLARENCE D. HALBERT	Minnesota
A. E. HOLT	Washington
ALBERT W. KRUGER	Minnesota
REV. ROBERT E. AVE-LALLEMANT	Minnesota
JOHN T. LAWS	Montana
ED. LEE	North Dakota
ROBERT D. LEIGH	Oregon
MRS. SARAH E. LYONS	Minnesota
A. E. MADISON	California
ANNE MARTIN	Nevada
PAUL ROBERTS	South Dakota
O. H. P. SHELLEY	Montana
JOHN F. SINCLAIR	Minnesota
JAMES A. SMITH	Utah
C. A. SORENSON	Nebraska
O. O. STAGEBERG	Minnesota
W. J. TAYLOR	Nebraska
C. C. VAN ORSDALL	Oregon
CLORE WARNE	California
BERT WILLARD	Colorado
BEN F. WILSON	California
JUDGE ARTHUR G. WRAY	Nebraska
GEORGE M. WILCOX	Iowa

MIDDLE WEST

A. F. BENTLEY	Indiana
HERBERT S. BIGELOW	Ohio
WARREN S. BLAUVELT	Michigan
W. P. BOLAND	Pennsylvania
DR. L. E. BUNTE	Missouri
PROF. FRANK C. CARLTON	Michigan
WM. CHANCELLOR	Ohio
LEWIS CLARK	Arkansas
DR. ESTUS H. COLLIER	Michigan
OTTO CULLMAN	Illinois
MRS. H. H. DONALDSON	Pennsylvania
D. C. FINLEY	Missouri
PROF. LAWRENCE E. GRIFFIN	Pennsylvania
PROF. M. H. HEDGES	Wisconsin
PROF. ROBERT HERRICK	Illinois
JOHN H. HILL	Illinois
CHARLES F. HOFFMAN	Michigan
DR. WILLIAM L. HOLT	Wisconsin
GEORGE E. HOOKER	Illinois
FLORENCE SLOAN HYDE	Illinois
MARY H. INGRAM	Pennsylvania
MORTON L. JOHNSON	Illinois
M. J. KARP	Ohio
JULIUS KESPOHL	Illinois
VIRGINIA LAMBERT	Missouri
KENNETH S. LATOURETTE	Ohio
JOHN HOWARD LEVER	Missouri
RUSH H. LIMBAUGH	Missouri
REV. J. I. LUCAS	Arkansas
MISS MARY McDOWELL	Illinois
J. H. MCGILL	Indiana

REV. JOHN MACIVOR.....	Missouri
REV. WALTER MACPHERSON	Illinois
A. K. MAYNARD.....	Illinois
FRED A. MOORE.....	Wisconsin
REV. ORLO J. PRICE.....	Michigan
W. B. RUBIN.....	Wisconsin
GEORGE A. SCHILLING.....	Illinois
ARTHUR M. SCHLESSINGER.....	Ohio
CHARLES D. SHARROW.....	Michigan
W. A. SMITH.....	Michigan
C. S. SPOONER.....	Illinois
S. DODGE SQUIRES.....	Michigan
THEODORE F. THIEME.....	Indiana
CARL D. THOMPSON.....	Illinois
HARRIET STOKES THOMPSON.....	Illinois
GERRIT T. THORN.....	Wisconsin
DR. SAMUEL THURMAN.....	Missouri
GUSTAVUS TUCKERMAN	Missouri
REV. ROBT. D. VINTER.....	Wisconsin
EDWARD W. WEBB.....	Michigan
CHARLES WEIDLER	Indiana
CALVIN WILLIAMS	Arkansas
BISHOP CHARLES D. WILLIAMS.....	Michigan
PROF. TYRELL WILLIAMS.....	Missouri
HARRY H. WILLOCK.....	Pennsylvania
EDWARD M. WINSTON.....	Illinois
JAMES YOUNGBLOOD	Missouri
JOHN ZAHND	Missouri

SOUTH

HARRY A. ALLERS.....	Maryland
MURRAY AUERBACH	Georgia
E. W. BAGBY.....	Kentucky
REV. J. E. BIRD.....	Alabama
DR. HENRY BORST.....	Florida
D. L. CALLMAN.....	South Carolina
R. E. CANTRELL.....	Georgia
J. DUDLEY CARROLL.....	Tennessee
JAMES H. CLANCY.....	Florida
W. F. COCHRAN.....	Maryland
FREDERICK A. C. COWPER.....	North Carolina
S. H. CRAIG.....	Texas
A. C. DAFFRON.....	Tennessee
C. A. DAGLEY.....	Tennessee
SAMUEL DANZIGER	Louisiana
CLARENCE C. DILL.....	District of Columbia
PROF. LEONARD FOX.....	North Carolina
W. N. GALLMAN.....	Georgia
GILSON GARDNER	District of Columbia
H. J. GARRETT.....	Georgia
T. R. GRESS.....	Georgia
LYNN HAINES	District of Columbia
J. M. HALL.....	Georgia
WILLIAM HARD	District of Columbia
L. B. HARRIS.....	Georgia
DR. J. C. HOWELL.....	Florida
DR. G. M. HUNT.....	Tennessee
CORA HUTCHINSON	District of Columbia
MYRON A. KESNER.....	Texas
J. T. LEDFORD.....	Tennessee
ROGER G. LEWIS.....	North Carolina
C. W. MCCLURE.....	Georgia
JAMES G. K. MCCLURE, JR.....	North Carolina
JAMES McNAMARA	Maryland
JAMES A. METCALF	Georgia
PROF. WILLIAM F. OGBURN.....	District of Columbia
ROLAND PALMEDO	Virginia
W. G. PATRICK.....	Kentucky
R. S. PRINGLE.....	Georgia
ARTHUR W. RAWSON.....	Virginia
H. D. RICHARDSON.....	Maryland
M. W. RIVES.....	North Carolina
W. O. SAUNDERS.....	North Carolina
GEORGE A. SHAW.....	Georgia
SARA T. SHOEMAKER.....	Virginia
HARRY A. SLATTERY.....	District of Columbia
S. A. SNEIDMAN.....	Texas
A. M. SOUBY.....	Tennessee
WESTERN STARR	Maryland
H. N. STOKES.....	District of Columbia
F. C. VOLKMANN.....	Maryland
LAURA C. WILLIAMS.....	District of Columbia
J. A. WILLIAMSON.....	Georgia

EAST

DR. C. C. BARTHOLOMEW.....	New York
ROBERT C. BENCHLEY.....	New York
HARRIET BREWER	New York
BENJAMIN BREWSTER	New York
ROBERT W. BRUERÉ.....	Maine
ALLEN T. BURNS.....	New York
REV. HERBERT W. BUTLER.....	Massachusetts
JOHN CAIRNS	Connecticut
JOHN S. CODMAN	Massachusetts
LINCOLN COLCORD	New York
MCALLISTER COLEMAN	New York
MRS. GERALD A. COOPER.....	New York
HERBERT CROLY	New York
TIMOTHY CROWLEY	Connecticut
HELEN DANA	New York
DOROTHY DICKINSON	New York
JEAN DICKINSON	Massachusetts
BELLE DE RIVERA.....	New Jersey
JOHN F. DUFFY.....	Rhode Island
WILL DURANT	New York
J. J. EDWARDS.....	New York
WILLIAM P. EVERTS.....	Massachusetts
E. L. FISHER.....	New Hampshire
ROBERT H. GARDINER.....	Maine
CHARLOTTE PERKINE GILMAN.....	New York
PERCY STICKNEY GRANT.....	New York
LOUISE ADAMS GROUT.....	New York
MATTHEW HALE	Massachusetts
DR. GEORGE RAY HARE.....	New York
PROF. ELLEN HAYES.....	Massachusetts
BERTHA HILLS	Vermont
C. G. HOAG.....	Pennsylvania
H. B. HOFFMAN.....	New York
H. E. HOLMES.....	Maine
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.....	New York
J. A. H. HOPKINS.....	New Jersey
FREDERIC C. HOWE.....	New York
B. W. HUEBSCH.....	New York
LAURETTA T. JAMES.....	New Jersey
ALVIN JOHNSON	New York
MARTYN JOHNSON	New York
H. M. KALLEN.....	Massachusetts
AGNES BROWN LEACH.....	New York
ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.....	New York
FRANCES LUCAS	Rhode Island
ALLEN MCCURDY	New York
DUDLEY FIELD MALONE.....	New York
DR. ELIAS MARGOLIS.....	New York
HIRAM MODERWELL	New York
H. R. MUSSEY.....	New York
GEORGE NASMYTH	Massachusetts
CHARLES W. NEWMAN.....	New York
ALBERT J. NOCK.....	New York
MRS. GORDON NORRIE.....	New York
HARVEY O'HIGGINS	New Jersey
FRANK A. PATTISON.....	New Jersey
MARY PATTISON	New Jersey
AMOS PINCHOT	New York
WINIFRED RHOADES	New Hampshire
R. P. RISLEY.....	Pennsylvania
RUTH ROBINSON	Rhode Island
GILBERT E. ROE.....	New York
PORTER E. SARGENT.....	Massachusetts
PROF. NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.....	New York
ALBERT DE SILVER.....	New York
MARY KINGSBURY SIMKHOVITCH.....	New York
CHARLOTTE HUNNEWELL SORCHAN.....	New York
DOROTHY WHITNEY STRAIGHT.....	New York
ORDWAY TEAD	New York
PROF. JAMES BISHOP THOMAS.....	New York
ROBERT D. TOWNE.....	Pennsylvania
L. H. TRIESCHMANN.....	Connecticut
PROF. FRANCIS TYSON.....	Pennsylvania
RALPH B. URMY.....	New Jersey
HENDRIK WILLUM VAN LOON.....	New York
FRANKLIN WENTWORTH	Massachusetts
GEORGE P. WEST.....	New York
WALTER E. WEYL.....	New York
JOHN PRATT WHITMAN.....	Massachusetts
MRS. JOHN PRATT WHITMAN.....	Massachusetts
PROF. CHARLES ZUEBLIN.....	Massachusetts